39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
009 Tonga 010

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"The Call of the Friendly Islands," Tonga's radio station A3Z, carries local and overseas music, as well as news bulletins in both Tongan and English. Since radio is the most popular and efficient form of communication in Tonga today, A3Z allows time each day to broadcast funeral and other personal messages to villages and distant islands not serviced by telegraph or telephone. Former A3Z Manager, 'Uliti Palu, is pictured here in his office in Nuku'alofa.

"Ui 'a e 'Otu Felenite," ko e lea ma'u ia 'a e kautaha fakamafola lea 'i Tonga ko e A3Z 'i Nuku'alofa. 'Oku fakamafola ai e ngaahi fasi fakatonga mo e fakapalangi; foki, pea pehe pe mo e ongoongo. 'Oku fakamafola ai foki mo e ngaahi popoaki kehekehe, kau ai e ongoongo fekau'aki mo e pekia. Ko e ta eni 'o 'Uliti Palu 'i he 'ene kei pule 'i he A3Z.

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403
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[p.71]

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

population movement and the rapidity and extent of its growth since 1956 are likely to have important consequences which will bear heavily on traditional political, social and economic customs and practices throughout the kingdom. Until the mid-1950s, population movement was more especially to rural Tongatapu rather than to Nuku'alofa. Thus during this period (1931-56) Nuku'alofa's annual growth rate (5.2 percent) was less than that of rural Tongatapu (6.3 percent), but since then the growth rate of Nuku'alofa (7.4 percent) has exceeded that of rural Tongatapu (5.3 percent). The most urban part of the town, Kolofo'ou, grew at an even faster rate (8.6 percent) while nearby Havelu Loto, the centre of the only sizeable industry on the island,[17] grew at the fantastic annual rate of 35.7 percent between 1956 and 1966. Where village growth exceeded or nearly approximated that of Nuku'alofa, it was either in very small villages, where an influx of a handful of settlers would give apparently spectacular increases, or in settlements to the centre and east of the island for reasons noted above. In 1956 Nuku'alofa contained 29 percent of Tongatapu's population and 16 percent of that of the kingdom; in 1966 these percentages had risen to 33 and 20 respectively.[18] This demonstrates both the increasing importance of Nuku'alofa in terms of total population and the marked tendency for population movement to Tongatapu to be urban-orientated.

Factors *pushing* people out of the outer islands and *pulling* them towards Tongatapu and Nuku'alofa are: the greater opportunities for social mobility in recent years: the changing economic needs of the average Tongan; easier transport between islands; and, more recently, the advertising (over the Tongan radio) of the attractions of Nuku'alofa; overpopulation; land tied up in title disputes and in other ways kept back from distribution; the low price for copra; two hurricanes in the northern islands in 1961 and 1963; and the decimation of the banana by black leaf streak and other diseases in Vava'u. If one single cause can sum up these various and interrelated factors, it is the need for money.[19]

It is not possible to know which islands and villages have recently contributed most to Nuku'alofa's growth, for the 1966 census contained no special statistics on towns. The following remarks, therefore, are based mainly on information extracted from the 1956 census sorting

[17] Quasi-government industries producing coconut by-products and furniture.

[18] Of the other two towns, Neiafu contained 23 percent of the Vava'u population in 1956 and 26 percent in 1966; the respective figures for Pangai-Hihifo were 28 and 25 percent. Neiafu grew at an annual rate of 2.5 percent; Pangai-Hihifo lost population (—0.5 percent p.a.)

[19] Walsh (1964): 179-197 discusses migrants' reasons for moving to Nuku'alofa. Some implications of these factors are discussed below. See 'Mobility and Economic Development.'

623 The noble's brief statement was followed by an even shorter
565 speech by the Town Officer, who added some practical
622 details to what the noble had said. In all, eighteen minutes elapsed from the time that the noble entered the shed where the fono took place until the time that he dismissed the people with the words "Sai, tuku ā (all right, that's all)".

571 As the institution of the fono indicates, the orga-
829 nization of authority in Tonga and the associated ideology are such that those at high levels of authority are not thought to be, nor are they in practice, accountable or
[623] subject to the wishes of those beneath them. This means that formal communication between the central authorities and ordinary people in the villages need only be a one-way process--there is no discussion at the fono nor any legitimate questioning of the directives given.

642 The fono is merely one of a number of formal pro-
571 cedures for communicating from the top down. The Govern-
623 ment gives people directives through District and Town
646 Officers and through the fono, makes announcements over
634 the radio and in the Tonga Chronicle (the national news-
207 paper, published weekly in Tongan and English editions),
204 and gives official notice in the Government Gazette.
794 Similarly, the churches publish various bulletins and for-
795 ward other directives to members through notices to the
571

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

relaxing or soothing, which may have given rise to the translation of *'upe* as lullaby. Even in 1953 when Great Britain's Queen Elizabeth visited Tonga she was awakened by noseflutes. A recording of noseflute music can be heard each day at the opening and closing of the Tongan broadcasting station. The word for noseflute, *fangufangu,* also means "to awaken gradually" and it is said to have been a punishable offense to awaken a chief by startling him. Traditionally, a commoner may have been considered presumptuous if he attempted to use a noseflute, to awaken someone in his own family (which had its own internal ranking system, see Kaeppler 1971 b). I suggest that the panpipe in Tonga could have been either a substitute for a noseflute and used by the lower classes as a functional replacement of this chiefly instrument, or it may have been an alternate or additional instrument for noseflute functions. The noseflute in some contexts may also have been used as a pleasurable way to pass the time—again more the prerogative of chiefs than commoners.

In support of this argument, I offer the two lines of evidence explored above. First, that a panpipe was capable of simulating melodic contours conceptually similar to the playing of two melodic contours by two noseflutes with slightly different sets of pitches. They were not, however, trying to reproduce noseflute pitches or to play the same songs—which may still have been considered *fie'eiki* (i.e., presuming above one's station). The reason for simulating the sounds of two noseflutes may be a reflection of social structure. When used to awaken chiefs, if two or more noseflutes were played together, they would have produced a polyphonic structure which could have been one melodic contour (*fasi*); played at different pitch levels and with slightly different pitch relationships; or a *fasi* played on one noseflute and accompanied by one or more drone pitches on the other noseflute(s). As far as we know, noseflutes were not hocketed, but according to presentday informants, the performers played the *fasi* alternately while the other player(s) might play a drone pitch. According to Samwell on Cook's third voyage, "about sunset they play upon their flutes... before their Houses" (Beaglehole 1967, part 2: 1036). This suggests that several flutes may have been played simultaneously, which could have been easily heard from house to house. It is likely that they were playing "in concert", playing the same melodic contour on flutes that were tuned slightly differently just

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

In 'Uiha, slightly under half of the *'api tukuhau* were unregistered and thus technically held by commoners at the pleasure of the noble. Nevertheless, I recorded no cases of eviction. However, there were cases in which landholders whose lands were both registered and unregistered consented to 'switching' or redistribution of their lands at the request of the noble. The noble periodically requests goods from his people, most often in kind (pigs, yams, or other root crops), occasionally in money (I heard of one request for $ 100 T).[8] There was occasionally some grumbling among villagers about the injustice of these offerings, but in effect such requests are made infrequently and are always fulfilled. The noble, through his representatives, maintains an interest in the happenings within his village and sets policies for his people to follow (such as the decision to fence pigs in or let them run free), whether these accord with policies of government departments or not. Finally, the noble is in fact the largest landholder in the community, reserving for his own use a number of *'api tukuhau*. He has the option of distributing these lands to people he chooses, either for temporary use or for permanent acquisition, or he can leave his lands idle.

The above sources of *de facto* noble power on the *tofi'a* may vary considerably from community to community based on such factors as the noble's personality, the economic conditions of his family estate, and the type of relations he has to the people of his *tofi'a*. One might suppose that a noble is in fact most powerful on a *tofi'a* where he is native and resident, and least powerful on one where he is non-native and non-resident. Given the variations that might occur, the above legal limitations and existing sources of traditional prerogatives are the constants which define the content of noble-commoner relations at the village level.

In the case of type 2 villages, e.g., 'Uiha, face-to-face contact between noble and villagers is periodic. In 'Uiha, the noble, who is a Member of Parliament in Nuku'alofa, visits his estate about three times annually, each visit being one or two weeks in duration. Otherwise, the noble makes his requests known to his people through radio messages, through announcements at *fonos*, i.e., mandatory community meetings, or through his personal representatives.

Whether face-to-face or indirect, the following appears to be the pattern of noble-commoner contact within villages: a noble makes requests or queries known to his people *as a whole*, either through an intermediary or through the institution of the *fono*. That is, the noble

[8] $1.00 Tongan is equal to approximately $1.25 United States. Values in this paper are expressed in terms of Tongan dollars.

231 mares to upgrade the standard of work horses in the Kingdom.
232
654 Owing to the rapid elimination of native forest species
654 on Tongatapu, as a result of the need for firewood and
245 timber for banana shooks and other purposes, the Agriculture
318 Department has a limited reforestation program, which
[313] includes nurseries at Sopu on Tongatapu and on 'Eua and the issuance of seedlings to interested allotment holders. The major species which have been planted by individual allotment holders have been Casuarina equisitefolia, Eucalyptus spp., and Grevillea robusta, all natives of Australia, and the tropical American Cedrela odorata. The only major reforestation project in the Kingdom has been conducted on 'Eua, where 200 acres of Pinus caribaea have been successfully established (Government of Tonga, 1971c:26). On Tongatapu, there are only limited cases where farmers have planted introduced forest species on their allotments.

241 In conclusion, the overall effect of the recent
231 introductions of new techniques and plant and animal
179 material on the Tongan agricultural system seems to have
241 been minimal. This is in spite of considerable subsidies
231 offered by government agencies and a recently expanded
654 agricultural extension program, yearly agriculture shows,
207 a system of "Rural Broadcasting" designed to improve agri-
179 cultural education over the radio, the establishment of a Government Agricultural Training Center at the Experimental Farm in Vaini, and a continued overall effort by the Agri-

culture Department to introduce improved plant and animal varieties as well as improved husbandry practices. Out of 149 sample households only one belonged to the Pig Subsidy Scheme and none to the Poultry or Cattle Subsidy Schemes. Where farmers have received help from these or the Banana Subsidy or Coconut Replanting Schemes, few have adhered to the specifications after receiving the benefits (Knowles, 1971, personal communication; Nusbaum, 1972, personal communications; and Liyanage, 1971 personal communication). The main effects of these attempts to bring about change seem to be an increased planting of commercial crops such as bananas, watermelons, and European vegetables and limited expansion of livestock production. Other effects include increased production of crops suitable for livestock feed, such as manioc, sweet potato, and corn, isolated instances of introduced pasture grasses, improved or new crop varieties, and introduced forest species. There is also some evidence of limited changes in general maintenance and husbandry practices on both bush and town allotments.

/30 cont./

181 177 nature (money, tools, clothing, food), besides the limited transmission of knowledge by Tongans in the village schools (partly by white persons in the colleges) and the not fully efficient health service. The only literature published in the Tongan language is purely ecclesiastical, and there is no Tongan radio service. The modern European world which, with its characteristics, its wants and objectives, is somewhat complicated, open and not amenable to simple answers even for Europeans, must always remain to a certain extent alien and unintelligible to the Tongan, not only because his disposition is, in part, of an entirely different nature, but also because he is offered only disconnected, isolated parts [of the whole picture]. The latter probably give most Tongans the idea that "European" means first and foremost: /31/ being clean, well-to-do, knowing a lot and being able to do a lot. This is the ideal the islanders more or less consciously strive for; however, they do not do so uncritically, for by their conduct and by their words, for example, they emphasize, at least on the small islands, that they are proud of not being as attached to money as are the white people.

157 156 177 Besides the mass of Tongans to whom the character traits described in the preceding section apply, there is also a minority of extreme, highly Europeanized types, a few of whom may probably be best explained by the following examples:

1. Tongan T., 41 years old, the son of a chief on Tongatapu. College education there; visit to Fiji; military training in New Zealand. Regarded as matapule. (62)

> 62. The matapule are members of a once highly privileged noble class; in the narrower sense, attendants to a titled chief in special ceremonial services.

Was occupied at the Tonga court, among other things as chauffeur. Took a "vacation" and has been living on Nomuka for several months.

416 /148 cont./ Almost all Tongan households also have smaller or larger mirrors, and
805 in some houses one even sees alarm clocks and vases with paper
353 flowers as a special adornment. The crepe-paper strips in garish
353 colors probably also became common as ornaments in dwellings (they often hang on the posts and suspended from the beams, because they are something special on the islands which are rather monotonous in color, just as the newspaper clippings and magazine illustrations on the posts and crossbeams are coveted because of their "curiosity-value." Various dwellings display, as decoration, more or less faded photographs
207 of family members taken on the main islands. One very rarely finds radios in Tongan houses; the reason may be less because of the difficulty of obtaining sets, but rather the inconvenience of providing them with dry cell batteries or accumulators. However, as a result of
404 the adoption of European textiles, sewing machines have become widely
197 used. One often sees the small hand-crank machines which are so practical for the Tongan way of sitting; but one also comes across treadle sewing machines, older ones as well as recent cabinet type
296 machines. For laundering textiles probably all households today are provided with zinc tubs and washboards, and in many households one
411 sees heavy flat irons heated with coconut shells. The weapons (clubs
198 and spears) which in the old sources are counted among the "household
199 equipment" have long since disappeared; only occasionally one sees
415 an old European shotgun. In the cook huts, now and then in the
197 dwellings, one still finds some of the traditional wooden bowls and basins which are being more and more replaced by the easily obtainable enamel basins, aluminum bowls and zinc tubs, just as the /149/ clay pots formerly imported from Fiji (393)

393. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 284.

or made in Tonga (?) (394)

394. W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/ p. 117 ff.

/259 cont./

533 [177] for large festivals in the villages, but mainly at Christmas time. On the more remote, small island of Nomuka there is even such a brass band whose six members, after diligent practice, have acquired a certain skill in performing on instruments which they bought from a Wesleyan brass band in Nuku'alofa, and some of which 534 were 50 years old. Moreover, /260/ in a few native huts of the main island there are pianos whose owners once acquired them by chance and can scarcely play, and a few Catholic churches and chapels have organs or harmoniums. (701)

[216] [207]

701. Portable gramophones and radios are rather scarce in the Archipelago.

[177] With respect to musical instruments of the Tongans there is thus extensive Europeanization to be noted.

538 554 Poets were once highly honored in Tonga. They were under the protection of the chiefs (702)

702. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/. p. 153. E.E.V. Collocott, "Tales and poems of Tonga," /cited in English/ B.P.B.M., Bulletin 46, 1928. p. 64.

who liked them because of the entertainment they provided; they also 538 [533] acted as chroniclers. Their poetry, (703)

703. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 336.

which they prepared in solitude, they sang (it was also performed by singing groups) (704)

704. Ibid. p. 337.

or recited before an audience that was often quite critical.

[124] According to the statements of a few Tongan informants, the solo performance (recitation) seems to be given even today, though rarely. [574] If there is a large festival (katoanga) in which a member of the royal family, for instance, participates, a native will get up after a dance performance and recite a poem (about remarkable landscapes or

/279 cont./

871 truly beneficial only for the small group of natives who find employment
876 in the government, in the church or in trade.
[177]

177 The transmission of European knowledge outside the schools is very
[538] slight. There is no Tongan secular literature. The natives have few
[209] radios. Newspapers and magazines only occasionally come into the hands
[204] of the Tongans. In Nuku'alofa/Tongatapu and Neiafu/Vava'u they can see
[546] films in small cinemas. The few natives working among whites (mission-
aries, teachers, physicians, administrative employees, traders), as
attentive observers, become acquainted with all kinds of European ideas.
[521] But the majority of Tongan men and women, after having attended school,
are dependent for an increase in their knowledge on face-to-face conver-
sations, especially at the evening kava circles in the villages; and in
this case actual knowledge is mixed with exaggerated tales and wild
rumors.

871 Seen as a whole, the natives of this Archipelago doubtless know
828 more than is needed for life on their small islands. /280/ This is not
177 to be traced back solely to the school system as such, but actually
181 to the lively eagerness to learn on the part of many Tongans. Their
185 pleasure in learning is above all the result of the natives' so typical
interest in everything new and worth knowing. Added to that is the
desire to share in the superior world of the whites. Moreover, since
"education" has become a measure of value within the community, the
desire for recognition of the individual strengthens the general
eagerness to learn. Ultimately this is also very much furthered by
democratization, since commoners are now able to achieve special
871 positions through proper training. Almost the entire population of the
181 Archipelago has a positive attitude toward the modern school system.
186 Most elementary pupils probably have the ambition to go on to one of
the very respected colleges, (759)

759. After their final examination the young natives